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several departments of government. Again, he shows conclusively that the capture of the Democratic national convention in 1896 by the radical and silver wing of the party was due to deep-seated causes that had been long operative, and not to convention oratory, as has been popularly supposed. Occasionally the political philosophy at the basis of party action is ably and clearly demonstrated, as in the explanation of the "unit rule" in the Democratic national convention.

Proportion is not well observed in the historical treatment of political parties. Forty-four pages are given to the history of the several antislavery parties, while thirty-seven pages suffice for the history of parties under the Constitution down to the fall of the Whigs. In this latter part very little space is devoted to the Jacksonian Democracy; and in fact from the division of the old Republican party to the close of the Reconstruction period the Democratic party is given scant notice. On page 90, in an enumeration of the parties and a description of the platforms of 1860, no mention is made of the Bell-Everett party. On page 79 the proof-reader has allowed the Compromise of 1850 to appear as that of 1856; and on page 82 the expression "Northwest Territory" is used to designate the trans-Mississippi territory north of 36° 30'.

The author's chapter on "Party Morality" is excellent and timely, and the discussion of ethical problems in Part III. is sound and judicious, though perhaps contributing little to the vital literature of the subject.

Useful topical bibliographies, short but well selected, occur at the end of most of the chapters. One wonders why such a list of references is omitted from the chapter on "States and their Government" in *The American Republic*, and why Part I. of the second volume should likewise be slighted. In both books frequent and often long extracts from well-known authorities are incorporated in the text itself, to such an extent that the impression of lack of originality which the volumes as a whole convey is considerably strengthened.

These books are written for the young student and the general reader, and not for the scholar and specialist. The author does not present his work as the result of exhaustive original research; he does however show excellent judgment in arranging and skill in setting forth the facts, which are derived in most cases from secondary sources. The style, although not brilliant, is well adapted to his purpose, and the proof-reading is carefully done. The books are on the whole creditable to their author, and will prove, *The American Republic* especially, useful additions to the literature of American government and politics.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

*The Life of James Madison.* By GAILLARD HUNT. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1902. Pp. viii, 402.)

IF the title of Mr. Hunt's solid and well-digested work were to read "The Times of James Madison," it would more accurately represent the contents, for the author throughout relegates Madison's personality to the background and follows the course of general political history. The

first chapter opens with a full account of the formation of the first Virginia constitution, which occupies twelve pages, although Madison only once took part in the proceedings, and then ineffectually. Then follow two brief chapters on Madison's education and early life, after which comes a study of Virginia government and legislation during the Confederation period, and a survey of the steps leading to the calling of the Federal Convention, the process of constitution-making, and the struggle for ratification. After that the narrative follows the current of general history, varying from chronological order occasionally in order to compare Madison's later opinions on nullification with his views at the time of the Virginia Resolutions or to group related diplomatic dealings. Generally speaking, the earlier period receives far more minute attention than the later, the record of Madison's term as secretary of state being strikingly condensed. The book is really a temperately and independently written history of the United States from 1776 to 1817 with occasional references to James Madison.

No doubt this method of treatment results to a large extent from the humdrum correctness and dryness of Madison's personality and from that complete absorption in public affairs which led him to discuss paper money when he should have been courting, and which renders his collected works at once so valuable and so colorless. But the author goes farther than is necessary in his adherence to the general and impersonal, for he passes over with slight mention and usually without discussion nearly everything human in Madison's career. The private relations of Madison with his Virginia contemporaries — Henry, Marshall, and Edmund Randolph — scarcely appear; the whole episode of John Randolph's frantic attack upon him is dismissed in a few lines; and Monroe's quarrel receives less than a page. It is not made clear just how Madison was regarded in his first term by the Young Republicans, and, still stranger, there is no mention except in one brief paragraph of the personal opposition of the New York Clintonians. But perhaps the most striking omission is that of any discussion of the relations of Jefferson with Madison and of any full estimate of the extent to which the latter was swayed in his political career after 1789 by the older man. We are nowhere told, for example, how independent a part was played by Madison as secretary of state. The only episode in his eight years of service that is fully treated is the Louisiana purchase, and this is described with almost no mention of Jefferson. In this respect the book does not furnish the information one ordinarily looks for in the biography of a statesman. What Mr. Hunt has done is well done, but it is not new; what he has failed to do is suggested by Mr. Henry Adams's treatment of Madison in his history, which still remains the most lifelike presentation of the man.

Mr. Hunt's method has the conspicuous merit of breadth and true perspective, and his attitude toward his hero is noticeably well-balanced and judicious. Nowhere is Madison given the credit of unusual influence or success without contemporary testimony in text or foot-note to support the assertion, nor is any criticism ventured without a display of the

evidence. The fairness of the author's position may be illustrated by his comments on Madison's abandonment of the Federalists in 1790:

If base motives of expediency must be attributed to him because he declined to follow Hamilton's lead . . . the same odium must be visited upon all the former Federalists in the South who were now the preponderating force in the Anti-Federal party. . . . At the present day it is possible for a man who is a member of the Democratic party to be esteemed, even by those who do not agree with him, as an honest patriot, and no violent mental effort should be necessary to attribute political integrity and patriotic motives to the leaders who founded the Democratic party more than a century ago. . . . In the heat of political conflict men say and even believe things of their opponents which at calmer times they would not sanction. This must be remembered in extenuation of Madison's attitude toward Hamilton. It is a merciful interpretation which ought to be accepted by the partisans of Hamilton in exchange for like charity extended to their own hero, who also sadly needs it.

But of Madison as a war leader Mr. Hunt says candidly: "In truth he was not an inspiring figure to lead in war. The hour had come but the man was wanting. Not a scholar in governments ancient and modern, not an unimpassioned writer of careful messages but a robust leader to rally the people and unite them to fight was what the time needed and what it did not find in Madison." It should be said, however, that Hamilton and the New England Federalists are viewed by Mr. Hunt through distinctly Madisonian spectacles, and there is one figure who certainly receives less than what most people would consider his due. From his first appearance to his last Patrick Henry seldom is mentioned without a depreciatory phrase, and the worst accusations of his political opponents are quoted with apparent approval. Mr. Hunt seems to have ignored Mr. Tyler's rehabilitation of the eloquent Virginian and to have adopted in full Jefferson's well-known attitude.

In style the book is clear and vigorous, now and then lighted up by touches of sarcasm or by a downright epithet. Yet the dryness of Madison's personality appears at times to place on the writer's spirits a damper of which he seems not wholly unconscious. In view of this fact the title of "three musqueteers" applied several times by Mr. Hunt to the trio of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe grows more absurd with each repetition. Three men to whom, taken together, the title of Dumas's heroes is less applicable could scarcely be imagined.

It is almost needless to say that the historical workmanship of the volume is as sound and scholarly as would be expected from the editor of Madison's works. The copious foot-notes prove the text to be based on a wide knowledge of everything that has been printed concerning Madison, together with a great deal of unpublished material in the archives of the State Department and elsewhere. The book has a respectable although by no means exhaustive index. There are, however, a few minor matters where exception may be taken on the point of style. The habitual wording of references to unpublished material is simply "Dept. of State MS." Now, when the date and author of a letter thus referred to are named in

the text it may not be necessary to describe the document in the note, but when, as happens occasionally, either or both of these is lacking, the reference becomes hopelessly blind. There are also a few vague foot-notes where we are referred simply to "Journal of the House of Delegates" (p. 78 ff.); to "Bancroft VIII" (p. 123); to "Yates" (p. 135); and to "Ford's *Essays on the Constitution*" (p. 142). A few misprints have been observed, nearly all of a minor character, except on page 297, where we are told that Napoleon boasted of receiving for Louisiana sixty million "livers." Generally speaking, the volume is as creditable in appearance as it is sound in its contents, and it forms a worthy opening number for the biographical series of which it is a part.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

*Nelson and his Captains: Sketches of Famous Seamen.* By W. H. FITCHETT. (London: Smith, Elder, and Company. 1902. Pp. 322.)

THIS is a very useful, entertaining, and creditable little volume. It is not and is not intended to be an original or exhaustive work of research either in biography or in naval history, but gives just what the title-page promises—a series of sketches. They are thoughtfully and enthusiastically written in a simple yet pleasing, vivacious style. They stimulate interest or refresh the memory concerning the strategy and tactics of the greatest epoch in naval history, and present in convenient form the life and character of great sailors who won safety and glory for England and made great advances in the science of warfare on the sea.

Though Nelson is the ostensible subject of but one of the chapters, he is the inspiration of the whole book. Indeed the second chapter has for its title "The Men of Nelson's School", and though each of the remaining chapters bears the name of one of the great sailors of this school, it is largely in relation to Nelson that their careers are described.

The chapter on Nelson is not a biography, but a "character study" done with great insight and literary skill, with impartiality and yet with perfect sympathy. The author emphasizes with admirable candor the weakness as well as the nobility of his high-strung, moody character, the possible flaws as well as the overwhelming dazzling supremacy of his naval genius. We get a vivid picture of the "fragile, undersized, half-womanly figure", who was yet "the greatest sea-warrior the world has ever seen" and "almost, if not quite, the most terrible fighter, whether on sea or land, war has known", for whom "to be in the passion and perils of a great battle" was, in his own words, to be "in the full tide of happiness." In a few luminous sentences the author gives an appreciation of Nelson's strategy and tactics, of his debts to his predecessors and his superiority to them. We see his discipline, his care for the health of his men, his perfect efficiency even in mere practical seamanship, his burning sense of duty with all its limitations and narrowness, his loyalty to his subordinates, and his power of arousing their devotion; for "the noble law that trust creates loyalty, and love kindles love, fulfilled itself